5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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292 The head-dresses (*di*) and ornaments (*hambo*) are themselves artistic
531 creations. A full feather head-dress is composed of some two dozen strands of feathers, each strand consisting of a dozen or more feathers. The strands are carefully made, sometimes from artistically shaped and trimmed feathers, while short down of striking colours may be tied to the tips of feathers. The order and arrangement of the strands making up the headdress is to some extent determined by custom but mainly by the artistic sense of the decorator, who
301 may spend days working out the precise effect he wants. Similarly the *hambo*
531 are often composed of a variety of objects – dog's teeth, shells, pieces of crocodile skin, a special kind of banana seed, for instance. The decorator aims at a pleasing design but is always aware of the effect of the total object as body
[778] decoration in relation to the skin, face and body of the wearer. While the objects themselves undoubtedly have magical significance, and much might be discovered about the symbolism of *di* and *hambo*, my informants were far more interested in talking to me about the aesthetics rather than the occult significance of these decorations. I surmise that the magical efficacy is actually thought to inhere in the beauty of these objects rather than in the specific qualities of component parts. Women are as lavishly decorated as men. Though some *hambo* are reserved for males only and others are characteristically female, decorations are usually interchangeable between the sexes.

796 *Music, Dance and Song.* Today the great occasions when body decoration is
533 performed mainly coincide with Christian festivals – Christmas, Easter, and
535 name days of saints. But these dates tend to be close to the festive periods in the traditional Orokaiva calendar. For instance, Easter occurs around the beginning of the traditional feasting season, while Christmas is close to the rituals performed to stimulate the filling out of the taro tubers planted in the period before the rains. It is on these great occasions that the major dance cycles are performed, accompanied by entirely traditional songs and drum music. But 'practising' for these performances proceeds for months before and after Christmas, and again between Easter and the end of June. In Lent, all this is strictly prohibited, for reasons that again go back to taro magic. At any time of the year but this, one hears almost every able-bodied male in the village, from the age of two upwards, practising the dance, with or without the accompaniment of songs, while every village has its original poets who compose new songs every year. Dance 'practices' occur rather frequently, about four times a week in the two months or so before a performance. They tend to start in the early evening and continue until after midnight. Some of the dancers wear a few decorations when practising. But these 'practices' occur only if a large group can be mustered.

535 The Orokaiva mostly dance in pairs one behind the other, forming double file. The pairs always consist of persons of the same sex, men or women, who form more or less permanent partnerships. The dances themselves are described in some detail by Williams (1930: Ch. XIV), whose useful account would be even more valuable if he had not attempted to make up some kind of synthesis of the dance and drama of three somewhat different tribes (Orokaiva, Aiga, Binandere).

In Sivepe there were two dance leaders, one from each of the major clans, who danced as partners. They had the final say about the programme; their body

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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574 796 763 628 It is emphasised even more strongly by the curious symbolism of the ritual death of the feast-giver. Once the food is collected and heaped up on a platform in the village, a message is sent to the guests. This message takes the form (in Hohorita) of a report that X (the giver of the feast) has a big sickness, and that 'he died last night' or that he 'will die today' or 'will die tomorrow'. The message is made to sound realistic: 'a tree was cut and hit him on the head; he is nearly dead.' One informant told me that he was at first actually deceived by it.

The effect of the message is to oblige the guests to interrupt whatever they are doing and come at once, as they would in the case of a death. But it also has a clear symbolic significance in that it equates the feast-giver with the victims to be immolated at the feast. This notion is found in other Papuan cultures, e.g. the Kiwai, who told Landtman that men actually die shortly after they have given a feast (1927: Ch. XXIV). A feast, in any event, signifies the entrance to the world of death and the ancestors.

574 796 628 At a feast two totally different types of food distribution take place. Cooked vegetables and meat are handed to the guests by the women of the host group in front of their private houses, and raw vegetables and meat are hurled at the guests by the men standing on platforms in the public area of the village. The women serving the meal behave with the ordinary propriety of Papuan hostesses, whereas the men, though actually rather careful in apportioning the tied heaps of taro and the joints of pig meat in accordance with the prominence of each group and group leader, put on prankish, irresponsible, abandoned, even insulting acts, and start meat fights at which the blood runs over the bodies of the recipients.

[231] The pigs used to be slaughtered ceremonially, 'a number of pigs being set in a row and struck simultaneously' with a spear (Williams 1930:61). They are butchered on a platform, the joints being invariably the same as those into which the body of Totoima was cut up. The giver of the feast enacts a ritual for the first-born sons of each family, passing them under his legs and then allowing them to eat of the heart and innards of at least one pig which are placed, still dripping with blood, inside the feast house. It is stipulated that the pig from which these parts are taken has to be killed by a 'father or brother' of the first-born and that the organs have to be extracted by the killer. This ritual, performed in Hohorita in 1966, is a fairly precise re-enactment of Totoima's murder of his son. It emphasises the identification of the feast-givers with Totoima. Although this ritual does not directly involve the guests, it can be performed only in the presence of guests, a curious fact that is adequately explained by the theoretical argument I presented above (Section 5).

796 574 782 The evidence given in the last few pages indicates that Orokaiva pig sacrifice is a form of communion with primeval beings. Certainly the men, after a ceremonial preparation of several months, have reached a psychological state of identification with the ancestors at the moment of sacrifice. There are no professional sacrificers among the Orokaiva, but all the men involved in the feast have, by the ritual exercises preceding the feast, developed *rapport* with the sacred world. Prior to sacrifice, the pigs are offered up to the clan ancestor by the calling out of the clan name. The fact that they are killed (or sacrificed) at all distinguishes the feast from an ordinary economic transaction, where the pig would serve as 'payment' for some gift previously received or a service rendered.

[769] [614]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament. 796 574

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children. 782 [825] [784] [842] [602]

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests. 574 614 621 [628]

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals. 574 628 437 [789]

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something like imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery. [789] [244]

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a corporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A 574 621 [789]

342 [476] required to build the short pig fence protecting the average garden. A house is replaced by intermittent work on construction over a period of several weeks.

476 Co-operation with households outside the expanded family is usually on the basis of assistance given for a day or two by an individual to fulfil some kinship obligation or to help a neighbour who is sick. Any assistance a man receives usually comes from individual kin rather than a working party composed of his agnates. 614 This may be because Sivepe is one example of the type of Melanesian societies where clans or their segments 'are small and communities composed of several, permitting local endogamy' and co-operation with local kin and affines dilutes the strength of the unilineal group (Brown 1962:68).

461 [164] The work patterns we recorded are summarized in Table 4. The figure for the time taken up by sickness (including caring for the sick) was affected by the facts that during the survey 2 householders suffered from lengthy bouts of malaria (1 was hospitalized) and that some women needed to attend to their sick children; the figure for travel was affected by the absence for several days of 1 householder and his wife who walked to Popondetta where they had business at the District Office.

132 461 The extreme weather conditions experienced during our survey - 26.3 inches of rain in 1 month with 25 wet days followed by a long period without rain - restricted both the range of subsistence activities possible and to some extent the time available for them. The amount of time devoted to subsistence and cash crop gardening was appreciably lower during each of 3 weeks which were marked by [797] the celebration of non-traditional festivals. Several villagers were among a group of 100 people baptized as Anglicans at Sasembata Mission.

795 461 During the week this occurred the women of the sample devoted more time to preparing for and attending the ritual than to economic activities. The men also spent more time than usual in the village, several of them building or repairing houses. Most of the men spent several hours watching the baptism itself. Although the baptism differed from the life-crises traditionally celebrated by feasts, a number of small independent gatherings to mark the transition were held afterwards in the village by the close kin of those baptized.

796 461 461 Religious observances were accorded a little more time during the week of Christmas than in normal weeks. There were no festivities within the village to mark the occasion and church attendance was the only organized Christmas celebration except for ceremonial at Saiho which a few Sivepe people attended on Boxing Day. Several people were disabled by attacks of malaria at the time but few of the others considered these 2 days as

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

512 [178] with the external agencies, but also for the customary subsistence tasks. Quantitative analysis reveals significant patterns to be existing at two levels - between the days of the week and within each day.

(i) The weekly pattern. The Sivepa people speak of Wednesdays as 'Mission day' (for work at Sasembata mission station), Fridays as 'Council day' (for road maintenance and cleaning the village) and Sundays as a day of rest and attendance at church services. Of the remaining days, Monday and Tuesday are devoted to cash cropping, [805] and Thursday and Saturday to subsistence. They claim to have been directed by the Higaturu Local Government Council to work according to this routine and while it is not strictly adhered to, the concept of the week is firmly implanted in the Orokaiva mind (see Table 6:9).

512 461 [796] The basic household tasks and harvesting of subsistence crops are sustained throughout the week with little variation in time allocated, while others tend to be specific to certain days. Sunday (with Wednesday) has the shortest activity day, of 5.6 hours, this being largely a reflection of the Church's insistence that it be treated as a day of rest. Well over half the day's activities are devoted to attendance at church services, the harvesting of foodstuffs, and household tasks. Two other categories of activities assume a greater level of importance on Sundays: social obligations, particularly informal visiting, and other subsistence activities (house construction and the preparation of tools and equipment). Both are connected with the fact that, following church, much of the day is spent in the village. Although church and council work are largely restricted to their allotted days, little time is actually devoted to them and they do not appear to modify substantially the activity patterns for those days; similarly no direct relationship can be drawn between time spent on cash and subsistence cropping and the pattern of activities on the days ascribed to these tasks.

[527] The marketing of subsistence crops is restricted to Thursdays, the day of the Saiho market, while the time devoted to social obligations reaches a peak on Fridays and Saturdays when 'parties' are normally held. Sundays apart, however, the daily variation in activity patterns is not great. The total range in activity time for all the days is only 0.5 hours but on Sundays a smaller proportion of the time is directed towards productive enterprise - only 56 per cent of the total. The other days, with the exception of Friday, fall within the range of 73 to 84 per cent. On Friday only 61 per cent of the time is spent productively, probably because garden tasks are disrupted by council work in the early part of the morning. In general where extra-village activities recur each week, particularly early in the day, the proportion of productive work falls. This is apparent in the case of lengthy tasks such as clearing and sago-making, which are almost entirely restricted to those weekdays free of external commitment.

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the nuts to the drier. The various stages of processing took up 12.4 man-hours and 7.5 man-hours were spent in bagging and selling the 75 lbs of copra. The entrepreneur sold the copra to the Motu Native Co-operative Society at Oro Bay and by getting a lift there and back he spent only 4.4 hours on what would have been a 10-hour journey by foot. The total input of labour on the second batch of copra was 30.7 man-hours and the total return was $2.32, or under 8c per man-hour. This return disregards establishment and maintenance costs; however, as the palms used had been planted for subsistence purposes and maintenance is rare, the additional costs were negligible. They would only become significant if people planted large numbers of trees specifically for copra. This was the intention of several men. As is shown on pp.292-3, the return to labour in copra production is higher than the normal return from casual labouring and during 1965, after the survey had ended, copra was made regularly by the villagers, including the four men who had obtained work in Popondetta. Assuming that the efficiency of harvesting and processing increased with experience, it seems likely that the cash returns also increased during 1965.

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(ii) Other activities. Involvement with the external agencies takes an average of 3.2 hours per person per week. Most of this time is spent by women in cleaning the village area, defined as 'council work', which also includes a total of 42.5 hours spent by villagers in the first week paying taxes to the council. Church services occupy 0.9 hours a week; the entrepreneur holds a half-hour weekly service in the chapel and sometimes people go to larger services at Ijika church, particularly for major church festivals and confirmation ceremonies. People from the neighbouring villages of Mosou and Hahemo often attend the chapel services, which are also a social occasion, with people in their best clothes and even gambling afterwards. Perhaps mainly for this reason, non-Christians occasionally attend the services as 'hearers' (in the mission terminology). Little time is spent on purchasing goods in trade stores. The most regularly used stores are the one in the village, those at Ijika and the settlement blocks (which are about one hour's walk from Inonda), and those in Popondetta - particularly Oro Ltd's store and stores owned by Chinese - about 2.75 hour's walk away. Despite the distance to Popondetta, it is frequently visited, often by getting a lift from a passing truck (or, during the survey, from the researchers). Little time was spent in meetings: 57.6 man-hours were spent on the day of polling for the House of Assembly and most of the rest was expended by the entrepreneur in discussions with administrative and agricultural personnel in Popondetta. In addition, one woman attended the Hohota Women's Club meetings during period I before the club ceased functioning.

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Social obligations involve individuals for an average of 4.2 hours per week. During 1964 in Inonda, only 0.2 hours per week (76 hours in all) were related to life crises and these were almost

entirely mourning and funeral feasts. The bulk of the time is evenly divided between more or less formal social occasions and visits to kin and friends. The formal occasions include traditional feasts to mark the end of a dispute, to distribute the first fruits of a garden planted with the help of others, to mark the birth of a first child and to give or receive returns for feasts held previously. They also include non-traditional celebrations such as parties to mark birthdays, the opening of a new school and the saint's day of the local church. Such occasions usually occupy at least half a day and continue until midnight or dawn, whereas visits, as recorded here, are generally of only a few hours' duration. Visits may be made simply to see a friend or kinsman or they may be specifically to make or receive a gift, to return a borrowed article such as a gun, lamp or sago-beater or to discuss matters of common concern such as a projected feast. Visits occurred more during periods II and III but feasts and other formal occasions occupied more time during the latter part of the wet season, when they amounted to 3.1 hours per person per week compared with 0.3 hours per week in the dry and 1.9 hours per week at the beginning of the wet.

Among other activities, the most frequent include seeking employment in Popondetta, journeys impeded by flooded streams or rain and meeting kin or friends returning from visits. The time devoted to them varies greatly from week to week. For instance, after the road-building work near the village ceased early in 1964, little time was spent in gambling or seeking paid work.

The time shown in Table 7:3 as occupied by sickness represents visits to the aid post for personal sickness, care of the sick and attendance at the fortnightly infant welfare clinic.[1] As noted, the incidence of sickness tends to be greater during wet weather when malaria and epidemics of influenza may occur.[2]

Individuals devote a total of 10.5 hours per week to non-productive activities. However, the distinction between these and the productive activities is not clear cut. For instance, part of the labour input in gardening may be designed to ensure a surplus of certain foodstuffs to meet specific social obligations. Similarly, visits to a kinsman may be undertaken in order to organise production and other aspects of a future feast, to assist in time of need or to make or receive a gift of food.

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[1] In addition to this time, individuals were inactive through sickness for an average of half a day a week (see Tables 7:1 and 7:2).

[2] During 1964 there were two influenza epidemics, in April and December.

166 464 461 he expresses at present a preference for paid work and spent over 27 hours, in addition to one full day, seeking employment. However, the only paid work he obtained was on the entrepreneur's construction contract at the airstrip. Since the completion of road construction in the area, paid work other than labouring for settlers has been difficult to obtain. Isemba has sought work requiring responsibility, for instance, as a storeman, rather than casual labouring, but even in Popondetta responsible work is rarely available and there are many other men of similar age and with similar or better educational qualifications competing for the same few vacancies.

512 461 [226] Isemba is active for an average of 49.5 hours per week. His most time-consuming task is fishing, usually with friends of the same age, and this is probably regarded as recreation as much as productive work. It accounts for 20 per cent of the week's activities. Sago-making is also important in the dry season. In the category of other food-producing activities over one-third of the time spent in subsistence gardening is in planting taro, sweet potato and minor crops and one-half in clearing and harvesting. During period III, he made a garden independently of his brother for the first time. This was intended for his brother's wife's use and served as a return for the food he received as a member of the household. Productive subsistence activities account for 21.4 hours a week.

[434] Isemba's main cash-producing activity is paid employment. He also assists his brother and others in their coffee gardens and spends some time in marketing. In fact, he never acquired any cash in the Popondetta market: he threw away unsold sipere (limes) and gave unsold bush-turkey eggs to a friend. However, in November, he caught a 4 ft long crocodile in the Girua River and sold it to a Chinese merchant in Popondetta for $4.50. The 2.1 hours spent on purchasing are partly on his own account and partly as a service to others, since purchasing provides a reason for travelling and meeting friends.

[883] Apart from the category of other food-producing activities, social activities consume most time during the week, with a slightly higher proportion spent on visits than on organised feasts and parties. These visits are brief and distinct from those considered in discussing absences and are one of the most typical aspects of the behaviour patterns of young men. [796] A closely related activity is church attendance, which occupies over an hour a week because Isemba often walks to services at Ijika, again in order to meet his friends. His visits to the aid post take up more time than the average spent even by women with

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322) states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements - (i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: industry (the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II), liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effective over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and expectations.

431 In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised, albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed 437 oaisa - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility. However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall within the same category.

796 The term hande, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more 574 specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by 431 the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of kinship, status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

626 Visoare are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and [578] hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as [574] encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of [614] pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the individual or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only result in humiliation.

431 The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation, 572 but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are 574

[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which feasts are arranged.

A, [See Category 574, p. 26--Analyst]

apply only to activities which are traditional or local. They do not apply with the same intensity to wage labour outside the village.(1) If major increases in cash cropping were to eventuate the amount of time now spent in festivities would need to be reduced or, alternatively, bought foods would need to be substituted for garden crops at feast times.

Other limiting factors

Income: Past experience has made people cautious about the prospects for their present cash crops. They are aware of the failure of the attempt to establish oil palms as a cash crop in the 1920's, of the abortive sugar project of the early 1930's, of the compulsory planting of coffee in the same decade and the subsequent collapse of the coffee market with the outbreak of war, and of the introduction and failure of rice cultivation in 1948-49. Some are aware too of the collapse of the peanut market within two years of the introduction of peanuts as a plantation crop in 1957. It was not, however, tried as a village crop on any significant scale. Though the people are not aware of the precarious state of the world market for coffee and cocoa today, they are aware of the price decreases over recent years.

Income from cash crops is not only uncertain, it is quite small and the people derive much less income from their coffee than they expected. This is due in part to unrealistic expectations, but also to decreases in price between the time of planting and the present,(2) and to inadequate knowledge of coffee husbandry. In the village context it is unlikely that the average man could, after meeting his family's subsistence needs and social commitments, clear and maintain more than two and a

(1) We are nevertheless informed by many Orokaiva people that the number and duration of traditional ceremonies and the number of people participating in them have all decreased markedly during recent years. They have been replaced to some extent by church festivals and sports but these activities are said to take much less time. This view is confirmed by comparing the social activities of today with those described by Williams, 1928 and 1930. The period of mourning after death has in particular been reduced and now involves fewer people.

(2) The cash price per pound paid to the grower was 2/- in 1959, 1/6 in the early part of 1960 and 1/2 in the later part, and 1/- in 1961-2. The price at present being paid is 11½d. per lb.

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
177 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
the kere) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practises,"
[535] even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanedage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

659 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[514] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
[754] walk from Sivepa, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
[361] ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepa, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepa,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
881 have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
[841] in Sivepa. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
[783] girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (via Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
782 always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
178 in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
Sivepa informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
Inonda and Urarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepa for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepa knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepa people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.